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Sex, fashion, work: James Joyce and the late-Victorian actress

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Abstract

This article considers the presence of three late-Victorian actresses (Mrs Patrick Campbell, Eleonora Duse, and Sarah Bernhardt) in the work of James Joyce. The first appears in Joyce's short story 'A Mother' (*Dubliners*). The strong influence of the other two is also detectable in the characterisation of *Ulysses*' heroines, Gerty MacDowell and Molly Bloom, and in a seminal text of late modernism, *Finnegans Wake*. In 'A Mother', Joyce's attention to the importance of fashion on the stage and to poor working conditions for female performers calls to mind the career of Mrs Patrick Campbell. In *Ulysses*, Gerty's performance in 'Nausicaa' recalls the techniques of the Ibsenian actress Eleonora Duse, known especially for her blushing; I argue that, given this famous skill and Joyce's fascination with her, Duse directly informs Gerty's characterisation. Finally, Molly Bloom's repertoire of dramatic references, including *Trilby*, Lillie Langtry, Sarah Bernhardt, publicity photographs and Pineroticism, suggests Joyce's immersion in a late-Victorian dramatic world. After sketching these connections in detail, I show that his interest in these actresses encourages scholars to continue to question the validity of traditional periodization boundaries. I end by arguing that the appearance of these actresses in these examples of early, high, and late modernism indicates the cultural richness of the long nineteenth-century for Joyce, which continues throughout modernism's successive phases.

### Keywords

Theatre; Duse; Campbell; Bernhardt; fashion.

### Abbreviations

*D* James Joyce, *Dubliners* [1914] (London: Penguin, 1992).

*U* James Joyce, *Ulysses* [1922] (London: Bodley Head, 1984).

*FW* James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Penguin, 1939).

Along with modernism emerged a palpable anxiety around its own parameters, which have been rigorously contested; the project was, and still is, notoriously hard to define or periodize. Virginia Woolf famously, if facetiously, suggested in 1924 that 'on or about December 1910, human character changed'. But this proposal seems conservative when the cultural echoes of the long nineteenth-century can in fact be seen throughout the early, high, and late modernist works of James Joyce, in *Dubliners* (1914), *Ulysses* (1922), and *Finnegans Wake* (1939). Joyce's fascination with the recent past, and how it might be productively mined for his own work, goes some way to affirming Ted Underwood's view that 'perhaps literary periodization is now becoming nothing more than [...] mathematical abstraction'.<sup>1</sup>

As this article will show, modernist Joyce was fascinated and stimulated by the Victorian stage. As a child he wrote theatre reviews of school plays. As a young man he had correspondence with William Archer, one of the most important men on the London theatre scene, who rejected his early play *A Brilliant Career* (no copy survives). In his college years he spent money won at an exhibition on seats in 'the cheaper parts of theatres'<sup>2</sup> seeing among others Edward Terry, Henry Irving, and Olga Nethersole, while Beerbohm Tree, Frank Benson, Martin Harvey, and Mrs Patrick Campbell all appeared at Dublin's theatres during these years.<sup>3</sup> He acted too, appearing in a leading role in his school play *Vice Versa* in 1898; one critic compared his acting to that of actor-manager Charles Wyndham, who Joyce mentions in Bloom's fantasy list of future

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<sup>1</sup> Ted Underwood, *Why literary periods mattered: historical contrast and the prestige of English studies* (California: Stanford University Press, 2013), p.3.

<sup>2</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p.77.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Watt, *Joyce, O'Casey, and the Irish popular theatre* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp.33-4.

careers (*U* 17.793).<sup>4</sup> Within this world, actresses were of particular interest to Joyce.<sup>5</sup> What follows is a three-part exploration of Joyce's interest in some of the female performers of this period, considering first the appearance of Mrs Patrick Campbell in 'A Mother', then the import of Molly Bloom's publicity photograph, and finally the intertextual significance of Eleonora Duse for the characterisation of Gerty MacDowell. Through these examples the importance of the Victorian actress throughout the long nineteenth-century will become clear.

Joyce's inclusion of Mrs Patrick Campbell (1865 - 1940) in 'A Mother' ('Have you seen Mrs. Pat Campbell this week? The baritone had not seen her but he had been told that she was very fine') indicates her continued relevance into the modernist period.<sup>6</sup> Joyce saw the actress in London when he was young and she visited Dublin on tours in 1905 and 1908. In March 1898 she appeared in *Magda*, *The Notorious Mrs Ebbsmith*, and *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* at Dublin's Theatre Royal. Having seen her perform in *Magda* Joyce declared to his parents 'the subject of the play is genius breaking out in the house and against the home. You needn't have gone to see it. It's going to happen in your own house'.<sup>7</sup> (By contrast, Mrs Patrick Campbell claimed that the play was 'a failure: I was bitterly disappointed [...] the Lyceum audiences were not used to the psychological

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<sup>4</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p.134.

<sup>5</sup> Leading studies on Joyce's interest in the stage include the fourth chapter of Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), Stephen Watt's *Joyce, O'Casey and Popular Theatre*, and Martha Fodaski Black's, *Shaw and Joyce: the last word in stollentelling* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995). Within this survey, however, there is little critical attention paid to the role of the actress, or any consideration of possible models for Joyce's female performers.

As Susan A. Glenn notes, however, the actress was an important figure for many early modernists: Henry James used the figure of the actress in *The Tragic Muse* (1890) as a 'a symbol of women's longing for personhood'; this is a trope also of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900), Mary Austin's *A Woman of Genius* (1912) and Willa Cather's *The Song of the Lark* (1915). Susan A. Glenn, *Female spectacle: the theatrical roots of modern feminism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), p.7.

<sup>6</sup> James Joyce, *Dubliners* [1914] (London: Penguin, 1992), p.144. All subsequent references given in parentheses in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p.102.

drama'.<sup>8</sup>) Despite this, Joyce was not alone in his admiration: her memoirs include praiseful letters from important figures in the world of letters including Edmund Gosse, Arthur Symonds, W. B. Yeats, William Archer, and the publisher William Heinemann, among others.<sup>9</sup>

When she visited Dublin in 1908 and performed in Yeats' *Deirdre* at the Abbey Theatre, the prolific reviewer Joseph Holloway reported that 'Mrs Campbell's 'Deirdre' grew on one until it quite captured by its sheer intensity [...] [she] is too great an artist to let herself get outside the picture for a moment'; the *Irish Times* also commented 'Mrs Patrick Campbell expressed the beauty of the poetry with rare power'.<sup>10</sup> This Dublin appeal was not a flash-in-the-pan success: after her performance in *Electra*, one reviewer noted that 'Her success made the ultimate success of the piece assured, and possibly casts over the whole performance a glamour scarcely its due'.<sup>11</sup> Appearing in *Lady Windermere's Fan* she was deemed 'intense and impressive [...] the acting of Mrs Patrick Campbell and Miss Terry, their perfect elocution and gracefulness of gesture, and the keen intelligence displayed in their every movement and word could not be excelled'.<sup>12</sup> She performed as Paula Tanqueray at Dublin's Gaiety Theatre in 1898 and played Magda, Agnes Ebbsmith, and Paula Tanqueray again from the 6<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> of March 1899, offering a similar Dublin repertoire for the next few years.<sup>13</sup> She was especially keen on Ibsen, with whom Joyce was enchanted (the novelist wrote to the playwright at the tender age of 18 and, no less, received a response).

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<sup>8</sup> Mrs Patrick Campbell, *My Life and Some Letters* (London: Hutchison, 1922), p.112. Hereafter *My Life*.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs Patrick Campbell, *My Life* p.161, p.155, p.162, p.119 and p.118 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Holloway, *Joseph Holloway's Abbey Theatre: a selection from his unpublished journal Impressions of a Dublin playgoer* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967), p.121; 'Mrs Patrick Campbell as Deirdre', *Irish Times* (June 24<sup>th</sup> 1909).

<sup>11</sup> 'Theatre Royal', *Irish Times*, November 5<sup>th</sup> 1908.

<sup>12</sup> 'Lady Windermere's Fan', *Irish Times*, October 19<sup>th</sup> 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Watt, p.96, p.207.

For Ibsen she performed in *Little Eyolf* (1896), *Hedda Gabler* (1907 and again in 1922), *Ghosts* (1928), and *John Gabriel Borkman* (1928). She also played Ophelia but by far her most infamous role was in Pinero's *The Second Mrs Tanqueray*.

In addition to her acting, Mrs Patrick Campbell was also known for her fashion, so much so that reviewers, in line with journalistic conventions, frequently highlighted this element of her performances.<sup>14</sup> The *Lady's Pictorial* ran a theatre column which frequently discussed fashion, written by the 'Player Queen'; *The Lady* published 'Dress on the London stage' from 1892 onwards.<sup>15</sup> What reads at first as a vague allusion to this type of journalism ('definite articles of evolutionary clothing, inharmonious creations, a captious critic might describe them as, or not strictly necessary or a trifle irritating here and there') in fact refers to the column of the same name ('Captious Critic') in *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.<sup>16</sup> This one-page feature published theatre reviews and sketches of the actors and actresses who appeared in the play, often drawn in poses that matched their characters' and with speech bubbles that recorded their lines. However, unlike those columns cited above, the Captious Critic did not actually discuss fashion that often, though there were occasional mentions of clothes: in an 1895 review of *Cheer Boys Cheer*, s/he commented that 'the characters are occasionally too beautifully dressed to move about freely'.<sup>17</sup> Though the magazine did discuss fashionable trends in its 'Vanities' item, it

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<sup>14</sup> For more contemporary theatre reviewers and their interest in dress (generally, but especially hers) see chapter 2 of Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and fashion: Oscar Wilde to the suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Christopher Breward, 'At home' at the St James's: dress, décor and the problem of fashion in Edwardian theatre' in *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior*, eds. Fiona Fisher, Trevor Keeble, Patricia Lara-Betancourt and Brenda Martin (London: Berg, 2011), pp.83-96.

<sup>15</sup> Kaplan and Stowell, p.8.

<sup>16</sup> James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Penguin, 1939), p.109, l.23-4. All subsequent references given in parentheses in the text, with page and line number.

<sup>17</sup> Our Captious Critic, 'Cheer, boys, Cheer', *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, October 5<sup>th</sup> 1895, p.173.

seems that Joyce lifted the name of the column to suit his own purposes and was not entirely faithful to the source text, despite alluding to a contemporary journalistic trend. The 'Captious Critic' reviewed a range of popular plays, including *Fedora*, *Magda*, *Saved from the Sea*, and *All Abroad*; the column also reviewed Mrs Patrick Campbell's performance as Agnes Ebbsmith in *The Notorious Mrs Ebbsmith*, and *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* sometimes featured her image on its front cover.<sup>18</sup> In addition to this allusion, she appears throughout *Finnegans Wake*: Joyce alludes to her autobiography *My Life And Some Letters* (published in 1922, a significant date for Joyce) throughout the work (FW 42.21, 77.04-08, 157.33, 475.29).<sup>19</sup>

Her appearance in 'A Mother', then, is testament to her fame and ironically, for Kathleen and her mother, invokes the importance of fashion on the stage. Begrudgingly, Mrs Kearney buys 'some lovely blush-pink charmeuse in Brown Thomas's to let into the front of Kathleen's dress. It cost a pretty penny; but there are occasions when a little expense is justifiable' (D 136) (charmeuse is a delicate silky fabric typically used for wedding dresses and lingerie due to its tendency to cling to the body). Kathleen's style puts her ahead of her rival in the competition, Madame Glynn, who wears a 'faded blue dress [...] the shadow took her faded dress into shelter but fell revengefully into the little cup behind her collar-bone' (D 141). Joyce reiterates the stark and cruel comparison through the narrative voice which claims that she has '*old-fashioned* mannerisms' (my

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<sup>18</sup> Kaplan and Stowell, p.65.

<sup>19</sup> Notably only one of these allusions refers to her acting career (FW 475.29). The allusions on page 77 to her son's military activity in Gallipoli may have been of interest to Joyce due to the great number of Irish servicemen who died during the battle, a contributing factor to the Irish War of Independence.



emphasis, *D* 145) and 'looked as if she had been resurrected from an old stage-wardrobe' (*D* 145).

Elaine Unkeless has suggested that Molly Bloom faces career competition from 'the younger, small-busted style of woman' such as Kathleen Kearney.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Mrs Kearney's purchase 'to let *into* the front' of her daughter's dress suggests the opposite (my emphasis, *D* 136). Indeed the name 'Kathleen Kearney' alludes to the song 'Oh, did you not hear of Kate Kearney?', which includes the lines

Fatal's the glance of Kate Kearney/  
For the eye is so modestly beaming/  
You'd never think of mischief she's dreaming/  
Yet, oh, I can tell/  
How fatal the spell/  
That lurks in the eye of Kate Kearney.<sup>21</sup>

The song's description of a primarily visual form of eroticism enhances the importance of looking to a staged sexuality. Joyce's decision upon this name for his character, knowing its suggestive intertextual resonance, indicates a culturally attuned awareness of the different registers of perception of contemporary performers. Molly also recognises the value of her body, specifically her chest: 'after the choirstairs performance Ill [sic] change that lace

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<sup>20</sup> Cited by Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Brighton: Harvester, 1984), p.163.

<sup>21</sup> Mary Power, 'The Naming of Kathleen Kearney' in *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1976), p.532.

on my black dress to show off my bubs'.<sup>22</sup> Mrs Kearney's hopes to exaggerate the size of Kathleen's chest are a response to the eroticism of the stage. We later find Mr Holohan in the dressing-room with Kathleen's friend Miss Healy, where he is 'pleasantly conscious that the bosom which he saw rise and fall slowly beneath him rose and fell at that moment for him, that the laughter and fragrance and wilful glances were his tribute' (D 143).

Throughout 'A Mother', from the youthful Misses Healy and Kearney to Madame Glynn and her 'meagre body' (D 141), a woman's success on stage is dependent on her clothes, body, and age. Mrs Patrick Campbell recalled in her memoir that her 1905 joint tour with Sarah Bernhardt was 'such a brilliant success that we played it every day for three weeks' before noting that a single critic—the Dublin one—countered this claim, suggesting 'Mrs Campbell played *Mélisande*, Madame Bernhardt *Pelléas*; they are both old enough to know better'.<sup>23</sup> Though anonymous, this critic is almost certainly Joseph Holloway, otherwise a praiseful commenter on her work. Reviews explicitly discussing the appearance of older women on stage included a review of Sarah Bernhardt's performance in *La Dame aux Camélias*, which remarked 'She wears her years well. Her figure is still light and supple [...] her dresses throughout were very close-fitting, thus serving to emphasise the slimness and peculiar straightness of her figure'.<sup>24</sup> This review needs to be contextualized with the knowledge that Bernhardt was, at 60, playing a much younger woman on stage, hence her 'still' supple figure. Even so, Holloway seems to suggest this is inappropriate for the actresses ('old enough to know better'). This disregard for older women on stage

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<sup>22</sup> James Joyce, *Ulysses* [1922] (London: Bodley Head, 1984), p.628. All subsequent references are given in parentheses in the text, with episode and line number.

<sup>23</sup> Campbell, *My Life*, p.39.

<sup>24</sup> 'Madame Bernhardt in "La Dame aux Camélias"', *Irish Times*, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1908.

is also seen in Joyce's treatment of Madame Glynn: though there is no reliable indication of her age, she is made to seem old, unappealing, and out of place at the performance.

This combination of enticing fashions, overt sexual attraction, and the stage which Shaw decried in the work of the playwright he considered its leading proponent, Pinero, became known as 'Pineroticism' (described as 'a compulsive whirl of furs, fans, and female flesh').<sup>25</sup> Mrs Patrick Campbell in particular was the target of his attacks. In March 1896 he complained that her dresses 'are not made by Worth [Charles Frederick Worth was a leading nineteenth-century fashion designer]: no controversy can possibly arise over her sleeves: worst of all, she does not appear in a hat'.<sup>26</sup> Later that year, in December, he suggested that 'her dresses were beyond reproach: she carried a mortgage on the 'gold and green forests' on her back'.<sup>27</sup> But these attacks pale in comparison to his comments about her appearance in *The Notorious Mrs Ebbsmith*. Shaw claimed that Mrs Patrick Campbell entered the stage 'with her plain and very becoming dress changed for a horrifying confection apparently made of Japanese bronze wall-paper with a bold pattern of stamped gold [...] it was cut rather lower *in the pectoral region* than I expected; and it was, to my taste, appallingly ugly' (my italics).<sup>28</sup>

Joyce incorporated Shaw's anxious interest in performers' chests into his own work and expanded its remit to the audience. Of a trip to the theatre with his wife, Bloom recalls: 'She looked fine. Her crocus dress she wore lowcut, belongings on show. [...] She bent. Chap in dresscircle staring down into her with

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<sup>25</sup> Kaplan and Stowell, p.48.

<sup>26</sup> Shaw, quoted in Kaplan and Stowell, p.70.

<sup>27</sup> Shaw, quoted in Kaplan and Stowell, p.70.

<sup>28</sup> Shaw, quoted in Kaplan and Stowell, p.70-71.

his operaglass for all he was worth' (*U* 11.1056-60). This is also recalled by Molly ('that gentleman of fashion staring down at me with his glasses and him the other side of me [...] I smiled the best I could all in a swamp leaning forward', *U* 18.1113-7). Bloom remembers only the visual stimulation of the evening while Molly recollects the labour required from her to stimulate this lust. Moreover, while Bloom does recognise the artifice of the stage ('See her as she is spoil all. Must have the stage setting, the rouge, costume, position, music. The name too. Amours of actresses. Nell Gwynn, Mrs Bracegirdle, Maud Branscombe. Curtain up', *U* 13.855-7) Molly is especially aware of the transactional nature of these performances: she is versed in a culture of 'pay and display', as her memory about Ben Dollard in ill-fitting trousers indicates ('didnt [sic] he look a balmy ballocks [...] that must have been a spectacle on the stage imagine paying 5/- in the preserved seats for that to see him trotting off in his trowlers', *U* 18.1288-90). Dollard provides Molly the *wrong kind* of spectacle.

'Pineroticism' also leaves its legacy in 'Circe', *Ulysses*' dramatic tour-de-force. Society lady Mrs Yelverton Barry, who accuses Bloom of looking at her 'peerless globes' from his seat in the gods at the Theatre Royal (*U* 15.1019), appears in a 'lowcorsaged opal balldress and elbowlength ivory gloves, wearing a sabletrimmed brickquilted dolman, a comb of brilliants and panache of osprey in her hair' (*U* 15.1014-6). Mrs Bellingham wears exotic, alluring fabrics including a 'seal coney mantle' (*U* 15.1026). These examples record more than a physical erotic attraction between the sexes: there is a staged strategy of seduction taking place through an ostensible respectability, generated by conforming within recognised theatrical trends, namely Pineroticism. However, while the episode wears the influence of earlier playwrights heavily, it does not

do so entirely faithfully. To take the chaotic 'Circe' as a thoroughly reliable document of 1890s dramatic trends would be naïve: with its immense variety of costume changes, evoking everything from anti-Semitism to pantomime dames, 'Circe' documents, yet also satirizes, aspects of the fashion play genre, among other elements of the theatre. As Joyce's brother noted, the writer 'found the frank vulgarity of the music hall less offensive than the falsity of the legitimate drama of his day: [Henry Arthur] Jones, [Arthur Wing] Pinero, [Alfred] Sutro, [Stephen] Philips [...] and, most of all, Shaw'.<sup>29</sup>

Molly's participation in the Pineroticism of the theatre, even as an audience member, contributes to and reflects her highly sexualised reputation within the novel. Her involvement may also emanate from a concern about the 'shelf life' of her performance career and to this end, her distaste for Kathleen Kearney ('little chits of missies they have now singing Kathleen Kearney and her like', *U* 18.375-6) is professionally significant. In 'A Mother' Mr O'Madden Burke suggests that Kathleen's career will soon finish (*D* 146), but Kimberly Devlin has suggested that her appearance in Molly's thoughts indicates that it is still ongoing.<sup>30</sup> In 'Eumaeus' Bloom has

a distinct and painful recollection they [the proprietors of the cabman's shelter] paid his wife, Madam Marion Tweedy who had been prominently associated with it at one time, a very modest remuneration indeed for her pianoplaying. The idea, he was strongly inclined to believe, was to do good and net a profit, there being no competition to speak of. (*U* 16.797-801)

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<sup>29</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p.125.

<sup>30</sup> Kimberly Devlin, 'The Politics of Maternity and Daughterhood in 'A Mother'', with Carol Loeb Schloss, *Collaborative Dubliners: Joyce in dialogue*, ed. Vicki Mahaffey (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2012), p.305.

The subtext of Bloom's thoughts here is that Molly has experienced the same workplace struggles and injustice of being paid, one reasonably assumes, less than a man would for his equivalent skill, even if this is not clear to Bloom: 'A Mother' is not a story of a *male* labour dispute. Bloom is simultaneously loyal to his wife (as evidenced by his slur towards Kearney, 'no competition to speak of') yet espouses the sexist economics of 'A Mother' by deeming it acceptable to pay women a 'very modest' rate for their talents, in the name of profit for the organisers. He is so complicit in male bias that he slips into its idiom (his casual 'net a profit' indicates a familiarity with the accountancy parlance 'net profit'). It is worth noting that the idiom of these two sentences is even similar to that of 'A Mother', ostensibly clear and objective yet actually raising a historically resonant point about the state of women's work during this period. To be sure, this was a prominent and contentious issue. In a world in which few women were able to earn significant incomes of their own, Mrs Patrick Campbell stands out as a relative economic superstar. Like other of the great actresses of the day, she owned her own theatre company which she took on tour, having had her first job in the company of Mrs Bandmann-Palmer (who is mentioned in *Ulysses*, U 5.195). For a while she also managed London's Royalty Theatre.

The conflict at the heart of 'A Mother' is worth situating in this context of precarious working conditions for artists, one that Joyce, as a writer frequently vexed by money issues, had a vested interest in.<sup>31</sup> In the story, Kathleen Kearney

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<sup>31</sup> See Jane E. Miller, "O, She's a Nice Lady!": A Rereading of 'A Mother', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Winter, 1991), pp.407-26 and Margot Norris' chapter on the story in *Suspicious Readings of Joyce's Dubliners* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003). Joyce alludes to Charles Coburn's famous song 'The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo' throughout his work (U 12.185; 17.1695; FW 90.24; 232.02; 274.01; 538.28). In addition to his celebrity status,

is awarded 'a contract [...] by which Kathleen was to receive eight guineas for her services' (*D* 136). This may sound like a non-negotiable agreement, but as Margot Norris argues, citing Don Gifford, this is not so: contracts have become more formalized over time (at this time they were 'more promising than binding') and Kathleen should have been aware of this.<sup>32</sup> However, even recognising this, the root of her economic situation lies in her gender: as her mother notes, 'they thought they only had a girl to deal with [...] they wouldn't have dared to treat her like that if she had been a man' (*D* 146). Though the situation reads as a disastrous and exceptional event, it is in fact exemplary of practices in the performance world: it is unfair and, more pressingly, it is not an isolated incident for *women* performers. This is a similar situation to one Mrs Patrick Campbell and many other female performers found themselves in, leaping between economically essential short-term contracts and even making profits in one theatre, only to be offset by losses in another.

Margot Norris has argued that the female economic vulnerability in the story might have a real life precedent (the story is based on a concert Joyce performed at).<sup>33</sup> With this convincing suggestion in mind, Mrs Patrick Campbell's decision to perform *Magda* becomes significant. Sos Eltis has suggested that the popularity of this play among actresses of the time lay in its 'celebration of the self-supporting professional woman and its validation of sexual rights which accompany economic independence'.<sup>34</sup> Thus Mrs Patrick Campbell's mention in

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Coburn campaigned for improved conditions in music halls and was 'largely responsible' for forming the Music Hall Artists' Association in 1885. Roy Busby, *British music hall: an illustrated who's who from 1850 to the present day* (London: Elek, 1976), p.38.

<sup>32</sup> Gifford, cited in Norris, pp.193-4.

<sup>33</sup> Norris, p.189.

<sup>34</sup> Sos Eltis, *Acts of desire: women and sex on stage, 1800-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.159.

'A Mother' is, above all, deeply ironic. If *Magda* allowed actresses to challenge the perceptions of 'female frailty, sexual temptation and the necessary protection of social conformity, and the patriarchal family, introducing instead the cold realities of economic survival, starvation wages, and *working conditions* [my italics]', this is an as yet unfinished project for Joyce.<sup>35</sup> As a result of Mrs Patrick Campbell's appearance, 'A Mother' becomes an economic parable, a historical warning for contemporary performers, anticipating and expressing, in short story form, many of the concerns of suffrage drama including Elizabeth Robins' *Votes for Women!* (1907) or Cicely Hamilton's *Marriage as a Trade* (1909), concerned with work, wages, and (sexual) emancipation. Many critics have agreed that the implication of '[W]hen the Irish Revival began to be appreciable Mrs Kearney determined to take advantage of her daughter's name' (*D* 135) is that Mrs Kearney uses these performances to find Kathleen a husband: yet by the end of the story Kathleen has had no attention from potential suitors nor achieved any economic stability. The intensity of the mother's vitriol towards the male organisers of the event comes precisely from being part of the previous generation that witnessed firsthand the economic declines and falls of actresses and feels the burden of not wanting to pass this on to their daughters, biological or theatrical. Work is recognised as a key topic within Joyce studies, and in his inclusion of this plot line and Mrs Patrick Campbell within it, Joyce indicates his awareness of and sympathy for such plights.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Eltis, p.159.

<sup>36</sup> Alongside Norris, scholars including Florence Walzl and Katherine Mullin both address the issue of women's work in Joyce's works. See Florence L. Walzl, 'Dubliners: Women in Irish Society' in *Women in Joyce* eds. Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982); Katherine Mullin, *Working Girls: Fiction, Sexuality, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).



Sarah Bernhardt (1844 - 1923), who also played the role of Magda, bears influence on the characterisation of another of Joyce's performing women, Molly Bloom. They share certain biographical similarities: both were Jewish, for instance, an element of her personality that Bernhardt stressed in her 1880 autobiography, *The Life of Sarah Bernhardt* ('on account of my being a Jewess', *U* 18.1184) and both had affairs and failed marriages. Bernhardt was known for her farewell tours, with every one from 1887 being staged as her very last ('Like actresses, always farewell positively last performance then come up smiling again', *U* 16.1072).<sup>37</sup> The influences of the plays that she performed in are in evidence in Molly's characterisation. She appeared in *Andromaque* (1903), a play in which everyone is in love with the wrong person; *Ulysses*, to some extent, has this same plot. British audiences 'loved' her playing of Marguerite Gautier in *La Dame aux Camelias*, a play about woman with multiple lovers.<sup>38</sup> As well as aligning with Molly's list of sexual partners, it was later adapted by Verdi, of whom Joyce was a huge fan. Irish theatre-goers, too, were enamoured with Bernhardt. Like Mrs Patrick Campbell she commanded an extensive presence in the Irish press, which published her opinions on the excessive freedoms of younger women, society gossip—including an update on the travelling requirements of her pet dog—and melodramatic reports about her near death.<sup>39</sup> Bernhardt also cried 'copiously' on stage and for some reviewers her tears were a sign of women's erotic volatility and tendency towards nervous disorders ('he made me cry of course a woman is so sensitive about everything'; 'didnt [sic] I

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<sup>37</sup> Glenn, p.27.

<sup>38</sup> Glenn, p.18.

<sup>39</sup> 'Young Girls and their Liberty', *Irish Times*, January 5<sup>th</sup> 1914; 'Sarah Bernhardt's Pet Dog', *Weekly Irish Times*, January 20<sup>th</sup> 1900; 'Reported Alarming Adventure of Sarah Bernhardt', *Irish Times*, September 15<sup>th</sup> 1897.

cry yes I believe I did or near it'; 'that little woolly jacket I knitted crying as I was', *U* 18.176, 18.673, 18.1448).<sup>40</sup> 12 of the 18 uses of the word 'mad' in *Ulysses* are in 'Penelope' alone; the episode also contains three 'nerves' and a 'nervously'.

Molly also bears traces of another actress of the period, Lillie Langtry, whose company performed *The Degenerates* at Dublin's Theatre Royal in October 1900 and *A Royal Necklace* in September 1901. She is explicitly mentioned in *Ulysses* ('that Mrs Langtry the jersey lily the prince of Wales was in love with', *U* 18.481). Both women grew up on colonially significant islands: Langtry on Jersey, Molly on Gibraltar. Both conducted affairs partly through incriminating letters and benefitted in their careers from the patronage of a man with whom they were in a sexual relationship. Molly's presence in a contemporary theatre world is also indicated in her desire to 'sip those richlooking green and yellow expensive drinks those stagedoor johnnies drink with the opera hats I tasted once with my finger dipped' (*U* 18.127-9), alluding to the 'greenery yallery' aesthetic movement. Her immersion in Victorian dramatic culture is further evident in her complaint about 'that fellow in the pit at the Gaiety for Beerbohm Tree in Trilby the last time Ill [sic] ever go there to be squashed like that for any Trilby' (*U* 18.1041-3). Upon its 1895 success, the play triggered the fashion for hats bearing its name; its mention in 'Penelope' is yet another example of a Victorian dramatic afterlife in Joyce's work.

The extent to which Molly's characterisation is informed by nineteenth-century actresses is most evident in her photograph, which Bloom shows Stephen in 'Eumaeus'. The publicity photograph was a significant form at this

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<sup>40</sup> Glenn, p.20.

time and was used, mostly by actresses, to disseminate a public image. As Elizabeth Bonapfel has argued in her discussion of the actress Elizabeth Robins, these images were notable for their latent desire and the way they brought together advertising, sexuality, fashion, professionalism, and celebrity culture.<sup>41</sup> Bloom has '2 fading photographs of queen Alexandra of England and of Maud Branscombe, actress and professional beauty' stored in his drawer (*U* 17.1779-80). By showing Stephen Molly's picture, Bloom, acting as a quasi-agent, illustrates how these photographs were used to accrue a professional reputation, one imbued with a professionally advantageous eroticism.

The photograph shows

a large sized lady with her fleshy charms on evidence in an open fashion as she was in the full bloom of womanhood in evening dress *cut ostentatiously low* [my italics] for the occasion to give a liberal display of bosom, with more than vision of breasts, her full lips parted and some perfect teeth, standing near, ostensibly with gravity, a piano on the rest of which was *In Old Madrid*, a ballad, pretty in its way, which was then all the vogue. Her (the lady's) eyes, dark, large, looked at Stephen, about to smile about something to be admired, Lafayette of Westmoreland street, Dublin's premier photographic artist, being responsible for the esthetic execution. (*U* 16.1427-36)

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<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth M. Bonapfel, 'Reading Publicity Photographs through the Elizabeth Robins Archive: How Images of the Actress and the Queen constructed a New Sexual Ideal', *Theatre Survey* (57) (January 2016), p.110.

This image is characteristic of the genre: its signature tag from Lafayette mimics the branding of photography companies, the most famous of which included Bassano and Sarony (the latter published Wilde's publicity shots for his 1882 tour of America). Lafayette was the leading studio in Dublin, expanding throughout the 1890s and in 1895 created the publicity pictures for Alexandra's visit to Dublin. In aligning Molly with the leading society photographer available, the *professional* importance of the document is stressed. Molly's low neckline is also consistent with the genre: photographs of Alexandra, including the one Bloom owns, show her wearing an extremely low neckline and a dress that fits off the shoulders.<sup>42</sup> Some, but not all, publicity pictures of actresses from this period show them looking away from the camera, and certainly Molly accords with the bolder images in directly and evocatively meeting the camera's gaze. The way the narrative voice describes the image represents both the interests of the individual (Bloom, finding his wife attractive) and a wider performance culture, in which publicity shots were recognised by performers (Molly), distributors (Bloom), and viewers (Stephen) to play a specific purpose in generating and sustaining career recognition through an effectively contrived representation of sexuality.<sup>43</sup> The pragmatic uses of the image are suggested in Bloom's complaint that it 'did not do justice to her figure which came in for a lot of notice usually and which did not come out to the best advantage in that getup' (*U* 16.1444-6). The production of sexuality in the photograph both anticipates and reflects its role on stage.

The thoughts this photograph generates in Bloom are also significant

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<sup>42</sup> Bonapfel, p.123.

<sup>43</sup> David Mayer, 'On the publicity photograph', *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress*, eds. Maggie B. Gale and John Stokes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.76-77.

An awful lot of makebelieve went on about that sort of thing involving a lifelong slur with the usual splash page of gutterpress about the same old matrimonial tangle alleging misconduct with professional golfer or the newest stage favourite instead of being honest and aboveboard about the whole business. (U 16.1480-84)

The sometimes scandalous relationships conducted by actresses were fascinating to Joyce, as well as Bloom. In addition to Langtry and the Prince of Wales, Joyce also alludes to the affair between Mrs Patrick Campbell and George Cornwallis West in *Finnegans Wake*. The play *His Borrowed Plumes* (alluded to at FW 183.32, 'borrowed plumes') was written by Lady Randolph Churchill (Winston's mother) and first put on in 1909 at London's Globe Theatre to mark its reopening by a new manager, the American Charles Frohman. It was produced by and starred Mrs Patrick Campbell. In 1909 Lady Randolph Churchill was still married to George Cornwallis West, who Mrs Campbell later went on to marry following their affair during this play. ('Borrowed plumes' appears in the very first draft of this passage, as an addition in the margins, not as part of Joyce's main block of prose. This passage contains other dramatic references, including one to 'Charleys' [sic] Aunt' (FW 183.27), which was a huge success and ran for many years, and was performed in Dublin in August 1905, and also 'Family Jar' (FW 183.17-8), an early nineteenth-century play.<sup>44</sup>)

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<sup>44</sup> *James Joyce Archive, Finnegans wake: book I, chapters 6 and 7: a facsimile of drafts, typescripts & proofs* prefaced by David Hayman: arranged by Danis Rose, with the assistance of John O'Hanlon (New York: Garland, 1978), p.371. A review of 'Charleys' Aunts' was published in 'Platform and Stage', *Irish Times*, 5<sup>th</sup> August 1905. More information about 'Family Jars' can be found at

Mrs-Patrick-Campbell-as-Mrs-Cornwallis-West is also alluded to in the 'Nuvoletta' section of the *Wake* ('she tossed her sfumastelliacinous hair like *la princesse de la Petite Bretagne* and she rounded her mignon arms like Mrs Cornwallis-West and she smiled over herself like the beauty of the image of the pose', original italics, *FW* 157.31-6). Written in July - August 1927, the sentence originally read 'she tossed her hair like *la princesse de Bretagne* and she rounded her arms like Mrs Cornwallis-West and she smiled over herself like the beauty of the image of the pose'.<sup>45</sup> Joyce later inserted both '*le Petite*' and 'mignon', both obviously adding a French flair to her characterisation.<sup>46</sup> 'Sfumastelliacinous' was included much later, in 1929, and it is this word that clinches that the reference must allude to Mrs Patrick Campbell and not Lady Churchill.<sup>47</sup> As R. J. Schork has identified, there is an annotation on the VI.B.4 notebook where Joyce has written 'sfumata', which is the smoke released by the Vatican when it has made a decision on a new pope.<sup>48</sup> It is also, he does not note, a style of painting characterised by its soft, fuzzy effects, a suggestion also, then, of the low light of the theatres creating a slightly hazy impression of an actress for the audience. Moreover, the word contains 'stella' and Mrs Patrick Campbell had been born as Beatrice Stella Tanner, suggesting Joyce made this word specifically to reinforce the allusion to the actress. Joyce's decision to link Issy rather than any other female character to Mrs Cornwallis-West is consistent with the girl's characterisation throughout the novel: as Finn Fordham has shown, an early

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[http://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/HL\\_LA\\_mssLA2306](http://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/HL_LA_mssLA2306) [accessed 16th August 2016].

<sup>45</sup> *JJA*, p.139.

<sup>46</sup> *JJA*, p.190.

<sup>47</sup> *JJA*, p.220.

<sup>48</sup> R. J. Schork, 'Genetic Primer' in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake: a chapter-by-chapter guide*, eds. Luca Crispi and Sam Slote (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), p.138.

draft of *FW* 3.3 referred to Issy as a 'playactress' which eventually became 'playactrix' (*FW* 526.33) in the final version, the change highlighting the 'tricks' an actress uses such as tossing one's hair or posing with one's arms.<sup>49</sup>

If Joyce is not alluding to Mrs Patrick Campbell—who had to elope to marry her first husband—specifically in 'Penelope', then he is gesturing to a broader cultural stereotype about actresses, no doubt informed by this example ('I never came back [to Gibraltar] what would they say eloped with him that gets you on on [sic] the stage', *U* 18.373). The nature of Mrs Patrick Campbell's first marriage was described in the 'Society Gossip' column of the *Weekly Irish Times* in 1900 as 'quite a romantic runaway affair [which] took place when she was barely seventeen and her husband nineteen'.<sup>50</sup> Her two marriages, one at a young age and one with a high-profile figure, caused consternation; some audiences claimed that Campbell 'could not play Mrs Tanqueray as she does if she did not know something of that kind of life'.<sup>51</sup> Joyce knew well that there was no such thing as a 'private life' for the actress: her marriage(s), passions, and affairs outside the theatre directly informed her reception on stage.

This fluidity between private and public lives also appears 'Nausicaa', wherein the issue of matinée performances becomes compelling. Martin Harvey's presence as a 'matinee idol' (*U* 13.417) is due more investigation than it usually receives from Joyce critics. We already know much of Harvey: that he appeared often in the city from the 1890s to the end of the first war in plays including *The Only Way*, *A Cigarette Maker's Romance*, *Eugene Aram*, and *Hamlet*. In 1906 he was invited to a garden party with Yeats, Synge, and Lady Gregory. He

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<sup>49</sup> Finn Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake: unraveling universals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.181.

<sup>50</sup> 'Society Gossip', *Weekly Irish Times*, April 21<sup>st</sup> 1900.

<sup>51</sup> Campbell, *My Life*, p.82.

was also, as Gerty and Molly testify, a favourite among Dublin's women ('then we had Martin Harvey for breakfast dinner and supper', *U* 18.1055). Moreover, it is precisely his status as a *matinée* performer that accounted for his popularity among women. After his first employed position at the Lyceum theatre, he became a freelance actor for a while and appeared as Erhart in Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman* for the New Century Theatre Society. The choice of Ibsen is significant. The *matinée* was a politically charged activity, immensely popular with and attended by younger women, making it exceptional within the context of late Victorian theatre, a place where young women usually had to be chaperoned. Women in *matinée* audiences sometimes outnumbered men by as much as twelve to one.<sup>52</sup> Unsurprisingly, perhaps, matinees of Ibsen were especially popular: of his plays performed in London between 1880 and 1900, 'all but three were originally produced as matinees, and male reviewers often found themselves in an unaccustomed and uncomfortable minority'.<sup>53</sup>

This popularity led to the emergence of a new, and worrying, social type, 'the *matinée* girl', the young woman who provoked much alarm that either she would corrupt the theatre, or it she.<sup>54</sup> Traces exist in the young (15) Milly Bloom: her mother refers to her as a 'great touchmenot too in her own way at the Only Way in the Theatre royal [...] afraid of her life Id [sic] crush her skirt with the pleats' (*U* 18.1037-9). Lenehan's joke about violence in 'Aeolus' ('a brick received in the latter half of the *matinée*', original italics, *U* 7.574) also suggests Joyce's interest in the clichés surrounding suffrage drama and the *matinée* girl. While many critics have remarked on Gerty's fanciful, girlish attraction to the actor's

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<sup>52</sup> Susan Torrey Barstow, "'Hedda Is All of Us': Late-Victorian Women at the Matinee' in *Victorian Studies*, Volume 43, Number 3, Spring 2001, p.387. See also Glenn, p.14.

<sup>53</sup> Torrey Barstow, p.387.

<sup>54</sup> Torrey Barstow, p.392.



appearance and celebrity status, the fact of her quite possibly being a *matinée* girl herself—for between her responsibility for turning off the gas each night and looking after the boys, when else will Gerty escape domesticity and go to the theatre to see her idol?—has been ignored. Thus this epithetical description of Harvey is crucial to characterizing Gerty MacDowell as an increasingly common ‘type’ of young woman of the day. It would be from daring *matinée* plays that Gerty would acquire Ibsenian ideas such as the possibility that she and Bloom could be ‘just good friends like a big brother and sister without all that other in spite of the conventions of Society with a big *ess*’ (*U* 13.665-6).

Building on this, it is possible to read the ‘*Nausicaa*’ episode in the light of the late Victorian stage and one actress, Eleonora Duse (1858 - 1924), in particular. Joyce was so enraptured with Duse, the partner of the Italian writer D’Annunzio whom he also admired, that he wrote her a (never acknowledged) poem and later kept a picture of her in his flat.<sup>55</sup> Others shared Joyce’s delight in her. Shaw praised Duse for her ‘ambidextrous movement’ and claimed that ‘behind every strike of it [her acting] is a distinctively human idea’.<sup>56</sup> Eva Le Gallienne suggested that Duse’s plays were ‘merely theatrical pieces designed to entertain the public with various thrills and decidedly worldly passions’ but the actress herself ‘succeeded by the peculiar quality of her genius in raising them to a high spiritual level’, a review that captures the duality of ‘*Nausicaa*’.<sup>57</sup> Gerty’s stillness particularly recalls Duse’s neat control of her moves on stage, ‘methods

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<sup>55</sup> I have not been able to find the poem. It is not kept in the Eleonora Duse Collection at the University of Glasgow, nor is it at the Duse Collection at Murray Edwards, Cambridge, nor at the Eleonora Duse collection at the Institute of Literature, Theatre and Opera, Venice. We know that Duse’s daughter burned many of her papers (Bassnet, p.169); it is possible that the poem was among these. Joyce burned his own copy of the poem (*My Brother’s Keeper*, p.187).

<sup>56</sup> Shaw, cited in Watt, p.108.

<sup>57</sup> Watt, p.125.

exactly the opposite the high emotions and grand gestures which Shaw found so vulgar in Nethersole's *The Notorious Mrs Ebbsmith*'.<sup>58</sup> Unlike Bernhardt, Duse was very pale, just as Gerty has a face of 'ivorylike purity' and hands like 'finely veined alabaster' (*U* 13.89-90). Whereas Nethersole was an extremely passionate actress known for her long kisses (we think of Molly's 'nothing like a kiss long and hot down to your soul almost paralyses you', *U* 18.105), Duse was controlled. The theatre critic Arthur Walkley noted that in the confrontation scene of *La Gioconda*, Duse 'stands silent, posed, as nobly as any of the statues around her'.<sup>59</sup> Finally, in a number of plays, Duse was positioned a long way upstage from the audience, similar to Gerty's position in 'Nausicaa', away from Bloom.<sup>60</sup> Certainly 'Nausicaa' is a theatrical performance: the beach is a large, plain open space on which to perform while Gerty the actress is immensely aware of her gestures and how they should arouse desire in Bloom.

Duse was also known for her affective self-control. Emotion on stage became something to be acted out rather than openly displayed: famously Mrs Patrick Campbell would blow her nose to signify sadness rather than cry.<sup>61</sup> Duse had a reputation for conveying feelings through a 'distorted face'. As Walkley described it in his review of her in *Francesca da Rimini* (1903), 'in the scene over the lectern it was wonderful to watch the changes of her face and the "passions de l'amour", to use Pascal's phrase, following fast upon one another there'.<sup>62</sup>

Similarly he began his review of *La locandiera* (1905) by claiming, 'No doubt it is

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<sup>58</sup> Watt, p.125.

<sup>59</sup> Arthur Walkley, *Drama and Life* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907), pp.251.

<sup>60</sup> Watt, p.129.

<sup>61</sup> Kirsten E. Shepherd-Barr, *Theatre and Evolution from Ibsen to Beckett* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p.58.

<sup>62</sup> Walkley, p.259. For more on her *faccia convulsia* (distorted face) see Susan Bassnett, 'Eleonora Duse' in John Stokes, Michael R. Booth, Susan Bassnett, *Bernhardt, Terry, Duse: the actress in her time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.141-2.

as a great tragic actress that Signora Duse will pass into history. Hers is the tragic mask, with its knitted brow and its mouth drawn down at the corners'.<sup>63</sup> Deliberate contortion of the face and an awareness of how to act out her emotions is evident in Gerty's acting too

That strained look on her face! A gnawing sorrow is there all the time. Her very soul is in her eyes and she would give worlds to be in the privacy of her own familiar chamber where, giving way to tears, she could have a good cry and relieve her pentup feelings though not too much because she knew how to cry nicely before the mirror. (*U* 13.189-92)

Another element of 'Nausicaa' that suggests a possible Duse/Gerty relationship is Gerty's blush. Blushing is a major preoccupation of the episode: Gerty reads about how to have it 'scientifically cured'; she 'crimsoned' at Cissy's crass comments, shortly before 'flushing a deep rosy red'; she also recalls 'crimsoning up to the roots of her hair' during a confession. At the start of the episode, 'a telltale flush, delicate as the faintest rosebloom, crept into her cheeks she looked so lovely in her sweet girlish shyness'; midway through, 'the warm flush, a danger signal always with Gerty MacDowell, [was] surging and flaming into her cheeks'; just before climax her face is 'suffused with a divine, an entrancing blush' (all added emphases, *U* 13.113, 13.266, 13.454, 13.120-1. 13.365, 13.723).

Blushing is a sign of self-awareness. One only blushes when one is aware of having particular thoughts or feelings, usually erotic or intellectual. In

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<sup>63</sup> Walkley, p.263.

addition, a blush, in theory, cannot be faked. In 'Circe' Bloom claims that 'Capillary attraction is a natural phenomenon' (*U* 15.3354): in fact he means capillary action, by which means liquid can flow into small spaces, sometimes even defying gravity. Language, like the blush, gives him away: this is both Freudian slip and Freudian skin.<sup>64</sup> Duse, however, was able to bring on a blush on command and to this day, acting manuals cite her skill.<sup>65</sup> It was partly this ability that led William Archer to comment that Duse 'could act Sarah [Bernhardt] off the stage'.<sup>66</sup> The number of gerunds in 'Nausicaa', highlighting the blush's gradual yet strikingly visible development, establishes the link between Gerty MacDowell and Eleonora Duse.

As a consequence of Duse's ability, drama of this time sees an increase in blushing as a stage direction. In Gerhart Hauptmann's *The Weavers* (1893) Anna's stage direction commands that she be 'blushing', shortly before a servant girl, on realizing she is being spoken to, 'blushes with embarrassment'.<sup>67</sup> According to Shaw's stage direction, Gloria should be 'blushing unendurably' at the end of Act Two of *You Never Can Tell* (1897).<sup>68</sup> In *John Bull's Other Island* (1904), Nora is cast 'blushing with delight'; she also experiences 'a sudden bitter flush', a 'face lighting up' and begins 'flushing' at the advances of Broadbent.<sup>69</sup> In

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<sup>64</sup> Gerty's blush has attracted much attention from Joycean critics. Two fine readings can be found in Ariela Freedman, 'Skindeep *Ulysses*', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3/4, Joyce and Physiology (Spring-Summer 2009), pp.461-2 and Philip Sicker, 'Unveiling Desire: Pleasure, Power and Masquerade in Joyce's 'Nausicaa' episode', *Joyce Studies Annual*, Vol. 14, Summer 2003, pp.111-13.27 Both read the blush as indicative of sexual desire, which it certainly is in this context, but both also assume that the blush cannot be faked, something Joyce was aware *can* happen.

<sup>65</sup> Donna Soto-Morettini, *The Philosophical Actor: A Practical Meditation for Practicing Theatre Artists* (Bristol: Intellect, 2010), pp.139-45.

<sup>66</sup> Watt, p.122.

<sup>67</sup> Gerhart Hauptmann, *The Weavers* trans. and Introduction by Frank Marcus (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), p.38, p.59.

<sup>68</sup> Shepherd-Barr, p.57.

<sup>69</sup> George Bernard Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island* in *The Works of Bernard Shaw*, Volume II (London: Constable, 1930), p.103, p.104, p.114, p.115.

*The Man of Destiny* (1897) we see both Napoleon and the 'Strange Lady' blushing: his 'color [sic] deepens' while she 'becomes deadly pale [...] the next moment a wave of angry color [sic] rushes up [...] one can see that she is blushing all over her body'.<sup>70</sup>

In 'Circe', blushing appears as a stage direction twice. Bloom '[b]ends his blushing face into his armpit' and Cunty Kate pronounces '[t]he gules doublet and merry saint George for me!' while 'blushing deeply' (*U* 15.3124, 15.4638). Bloom (twice) and Mrs Dignam both appear 'flushed' (*U* 15.142, 15.3372, 15.3837). In *Exiles* (written in the spring of 1914, though published three years later) Beatrice's stage directions see her blushing twice, 'slightly' and 'suddenly'.<sup>71</sup> It appears that Joyce was, like so many others, very impressed at the technical skill of and dramatic tension created by Duse's acting, paying homage to her through Gerty's colourings throughout 'Nausicaa'. Moreover, by adding in 'blushing' and 'flushing' as stage directions in his own work, he testifies to the direct influence of the earlier generation of playwrights as well as specific actresses.

'Circe' takes its dramatic cues from a range of sources. The appearance of the 'End of the World' and several stage Irishman figures mocks certain elements of Revivalist drama, while Shaw is parodied directly in the diagnosis of Bloom as a 'new womanly man' (*U* 15.1798), to say nothing of the absurdly long and detailed faux-Shavian stage directions. But parody is not Joyce's only treatment of earlier dramatists. Stephen's mother rises up through a floorboard and the man in the macintosh springs up from a trapdoor (*U* 15.4157, 15.1558),

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<sup>70</sup> George Bernard Shaw, *Candida*, *The Man of Destiny*, in *The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw: collected plays with their prefaces. Vol.1*, (London: Bodley Head, 1970), p.623.

<sup>71</sup> James Joyce, *Poems and Exiles* [1917] (London: Penguin, 1992), p.117, p.241.

moments that are both directly lifted, apparently without irony, from Dublin-born Dion Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers* (1852). Joyce is presumably rather taken with this sketch as he reuses it in the *Wake* ('cometh up as a trapadour', *FW* 224.25); Boucicault is named explicitly in 'Lestrygonians' (*U* 8.601). Just as there is no critical, parodying, or aggressive tone to Joyce's works in these mentions, his inclusion of 'blushing' and 'flushing' as stage directions, alongside his already publicly stated veneration, indicates genuine admiration for Duse's acting skill and a keen knowledge of the stage directions of Victorian drama.

As I have illustrated, Duse, Campbell, and other performers held a particular resonance for Joyce, acting as women through whom to explore a variety of contemporary interests including sexuality, fashion, and women's labour: these are all key themes in Joyce's work and studying these actresses provides yet more evidence of their importance to Joyce studies. As Stephen Watt warns, however, there is risk in trying to 'elevate this or that play, this or that theatrical convention, as *solely* [original emphasis] determinative of an instance in *Ulysses*'.<sup>72</sup> But by examining Joyce and the presence of Victorian dramatists and performers in his work, scholars can gain a richer understanding of it. This article, in building on research assessing Joyce's interest in the theatre, has further demonstrated Joyce's relationship with key figures of the period, such as Shaw, while also considering some of those dramatists more often overlooked by Joycean scholars, such as Pinero, and forgotten genres, such as the fashion play. It has also demonstrated the value of looking at specific individuals within that culture: recording the lives of real people Joyce paid homage to in his

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<sup>72</sup> Watt, p.90.

works is an ever-expanding project.<sup>73</sup> Especially in identifying the confluence between Gerty MacDowell and Eleonora Duse, we are able to recognise the variety of people Joyce used as inspiration for his work.

A study of actresses who enjoyed their prime in the nineteenth-century and appear in modernist texts allows us to think again about the vexed issue of periodization. Crucially, Duse, Campbell, and Bernhardt are not imports from the mythic past that, as *Ulysses*' title and structure demonstrate, Joyce was fascinated by. Instead they are from the recent past, testaments to the great influence of the 1890s in his work (an influence that is not only literary or dramatic but political too if one considers, among many examples, the importance of the fall of Parnell in his work). Unlike many critical studies of Joyce that isolate him from the work of his contemporaries, this article firmly situates him within the social networks and cultural contexts in which he was developing as a person and as an artist.<sup>74</sup> As I explored in the introduction, this was the decade in which Joyce was educated, in both the theatre and the classroom. To this end, the overlap between these women's lives and Joyce's work is notable: Bernhardt died just one year, and Duse two, after *Ulysses* was published (1923 and 1924 respectively); Mrs Patrick Campbell died one year after the *Wake*'s publication (1940), less than one before Joyce himself (1941). While Joyce invokes their heyday in his work they are nonetheless living, breathing cultural presences well into the modernist period.

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<sup>73</sup> While this has always been of interest to Joycean scholars, two prominent recent examples of this include Luca Crispi's *Becoming the Blooms: The Construction of Character in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Vivian Igoe, *The Real People of Joyce's Ulysses* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2016).

<sup>74</sup> For more on this see John Nash, ed., *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[8,868 words, including footnotes; 7,384 without]



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